



Maďarská komunita v prvom desaťročí Československej republiky

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Establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic as one of the states formed out of the debris of Austro-Hungarian Empire had a profound impact upon political, economic and social situation of Slovakia. Besides Czechs and Slovaks, Czechoslovakia became also a home of several ethnic communities. In Slovakia, the most numerous and politically significant ethnic group was Hungarian minority. The paper, in a concise form, is dealing with status of Hungarian population in Slovakia after founding of the Czechoslovak Republic, with the political profile of the Hungarian community and with reaction of state authorities on its political and social activities.

Czechoslovakian Republic. Hungarian community. Czechoslovak state authorities. Irredentism.

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At the close of year 1918 the Central Europe was a place of turbulent ethnic and social upheavals. Years of unprecedented violence and mass killings, which were result of technological advances implemented during the Great War, brought in their wake a loss of belief in traditional values and disrespect for authorities sanctioned by centuries of feudal age. The Austro-Hungarian Empire ceased to exist in the cataclysmic climax of world conflagration. The Peace Conference of Victorious Powers, namely France, England and United States of America, changed the map of Central Europe. A result of this endeavor was a creation, amid others, a new state - Czechoslovakian Republic.

A birth of a new state was not an easy one. Czechoslovakian Republic (CSR) became a conglomerate of diverse ethnic communities with conflicting interests. The main ethnic societies - Czechs and Slovaks - so called state forming nations - formed a core of population and aspired to hold a leading position in the Republic. This, however, clashed with political aspirations of other ethnic groups, which found themselves in an orbit of a new state. Inevitably, establishment of Czech and Slovak dominance led to violent crushes with German communities in the western part of CSR and with Hungarians in Slovakia.

For a roughly a thousand years Slovaks, together with other ethnic groups, were part of Hungarian Kingdom. The ethnicity, till advent of age of revivalists, played negligible role in Hungary. Feudal society, which had in Hungary exceptionally strong and inflexible roots, allowed no space for cultivation of ethnic awareness. The „Nation“ in a sense of state representation, economic power and privileges, were feudal lords. Broad masses of disfranchised inhabitants were held in bondage. Social and economic emancipation progressed only slowly and in Hungarian Kingdom never encompassed all population. In such an environment, the formation of national identity was tortuous process, beleaguered by setbacks.

This holds true also for Slovak community in Hungary. The Revolution of 1848, which promised a ray of

hope for modernization of feudal Hungary, was stamped out and conservative course took hold. For Slovaks, since second half of nineteenth century exhibiting growing national awareness, this was extremely negative development. After Austro-Hungarian Agreement concluded in 1867, things became even worse. A period of intensive magyarization[1] ensued. The Hungarian ruling class, with strong support of nationalistic intelligentsia, came to conclusion, that there is inevitable to transfer multiethnic Hungary into an unified nation.[2] This affected Slovaks in various ways. Slovak schools were closed, Hungarian cultural organizations, which promoted Hungarian language and culture, sprung-up. A common bond of history was accentuated. Adherence and active support of Hungarian patriotism was required from teachers and state employees. Reticent attitudes or open resistance was punished by loss of job, social ostracism and in extreme cases by jail. Struggle to form an ethnically homogenous Hungarian nation gradually intensified till the end of the Great War. This resulted in weakening of Slovak national awareness, especially in eastern regions of Slovakia. Magyarization was triumphant among non-Slovak communities living in Slovakia. An illustrative example of successful magyarization is German community, living in Spiš, a mountainous region of Slovakia. These people became „fiery Hungarian patriots“ and though aware of their German origins, resisted in some cases even German schools provided for them by Czechoslovak government after establishment of CSR. Similarly, many Jews, living in various localities in Slovakia, clung to Hungarian language and culture with surprising resilience.

Establishment of Czechoslovakia - a state built on radically different political, economic and social foundations than was Hungarian kingdom, inevitably roused a wall of resistance.

According to historian Štefan Šutaj, „New status created numerous problems. Fight for cultural rights, criticism of less privileged economic position, but also connection with the kin Hungarian nation, all this caused ethnic Hungarians judge decision of Victorious Powers in regard their status as minority as an injustice and they adhered to idea of boundaries revision, which were determined on June 4th 1920 in Trianon and this way they were in conflict with the state power.“[3]

The significance of Slovak-Hungarian relations was accentuated by the size of the Hungarian community in Slovakia - according statistics from year 1921,[4] Slovak territory inhabited at that time 634 827 ethnic Hungarians, that is, approximately one third of Slovak population. It is possible to ask a question - how is possible, that so large a portion of total numbers of inhabitants consisted of ethnic Hungarians? This, mainly, was caused by complex ethnic mixture of Hungarian - Slovak border. To extricate interconnected Hungarian and Slovak settlements was impossible. Large deportations of Hungarian and Slovak populations were also impossible to execute for political, humanitarian and technical reasons. It is necessary to add, that Czech and Slovak representatives during the Peace Conference successfully argued for setting-up Czechoslovak boundary line, which would secure defense and economic interests of a new state. This, however, collided with the resolution of Hungarians to preserve Hungary in her pre-war size.

After conclusion of preliminary peace agreement, Slovakia was in a state of turmoil. Demobilized soldiers, deserters, and criminals of various shades roamed throughout Slovak countryside, robbed Jewish shops and were spreading chaos everywhere.[5] Although the boundary line between Hungary and Slovakia was determined by Victorious Powers on December 21 1918,[6] authorities of newly established Czechoslovakia had no means to enforce this decision. At the end of October in city of Turčiansky Sv. Martin a Slovak National Council (SNC) was created,[7] but its power to consolidate situation in Slovakia was minimal.

With aim to consolidate situation in Slovakia, National Assembly in Prague adopted a measure, in which delegated basically an unlimited power to its representative Vavro Šrobár and named him „Minister with full powers for the administration of Slovakia“ (Minister).

V. Šrobár ended short lived existence of Slovak national Council and commenced build-up of centralistic government. His activities, however, were curtailed by presence of Hungarian army in Slovakia. Czechoslovakian military forces only gradually occupied Slovak territory. On December 28 1919 entered Czechoslovakian soldiers without fight city of Košice. This was possible due to an agreement concluded on December 6 between Czechoslovak representative Milan Hodža and Hungarian Minister of Defense A. Barth, which resulted in determination of preliminary boundary line.[8]

Despite of relatively peaceful progression of Czechoslovak military, after-war shortages of consumables together with reluctance of Hungarian population to accept existing conditions, situation was far from stabile. Civil disorders and strikes erupted. In reaction on disruptions, of which the most serious was strike of railroad workers, Minister V. Šrobár declared a state of emergency on 25 March 1919 on the

whole territory of Slovakia.[9] Declaration of state of emergency, which threatened everyone who enticed mutiny, murder, larceny etc. with death, shortly after its promulgation lost relevance, due to an outburst of violence on Hungarian - Czechoslovak border. Chaotic political, economic and social situation, which reigned in Hungary after war ended, deteriorated to such extent, that a Bolshevik revolution erupted in Budapest. Bolshevik activist Béla Kun became a leader of a government, which, in many ways, was more nationalistic than communist. With the help of former Austro-Hungarian officers, a powerful army was created, with clear goal to restore Hungary in her former size. The weakest point was insufficiently protected Slovakia. Hungarian Red Army commenced military operation in Slovakia on May 30 and in a few days occupied almost a half of Slovak territory.[10] An ultimatum signed by the chairman of the Peace Conference G. Clemenceau and sent to Hungarian government on 15 of June 1919 reversed the situation. It demanded retreat of Hungarian military forces from Slovakia under threat of attack on Budapest. On June 16

B. Kun submitted to ultimatum. This, however, did not result in immediate retreat. Hungarian military gave-up only after Germany signed Treaty of Versailles on June 28 1919. On July 5 the retreat was completed.

War ended, but Slovak cities and countryside was devastated by fighting and damage caused by Bolshevik commandos looting during their retreat. Besides material damages, Hungarian invasion further worsened already strained relations between Hungarian minority members and Slovaks. Government Referee for Justice, Ivan Dérer issued a Decree No. 3268/1919, condemning "...all enemies of Czechoslovakian Republic, who according to state of emergency will be sentenced to death also to forfeiting their property." [11] Minister V. Šrobár ordered all public offices to gather names of all suspected collaborators with Hungarian Red Army and posted them on public places.[12]

Implementation of stern measures had a negative impact upon the formation of civic society in general and Slovak - Hungarian relations in particular. There were, however, also positive changes ongoing in CSR. Situation considerably improved after Czechoslovakian government adopted on February 29 1920 a Constitution of Czechoslovakian Republic.[13] This supreme legal document defined civic rights of all citizens in a truly democratic fashion. All feudal privileges were abolished, each citizen, including women, had a right to vote and to be elected to all public offices, regardless of size of property or gender. Especially encouraging was constitutional provision dealing with status of ethnic minorities. Paragraphs 128 - 134 of the Constitution elaborated the basic rights of ethnic minorities. Citizens of Czechoslovakia, regardless of their ethnic origin, had a right to take an active part on political activities, including establishment of political parties and associations, had a right to organize cultural and educational organizations, right to education in their mother tongue and right to take part in religious congregations without hindrance. The Constitution created conditions for establishment a number of political parties in Slovakia, including parties organized on ethnic principle.

Hungarian minority, similarly as Slovak majority, underwent a process of social and political differentiation, which found its reflection in an array of political parties, representing various segments of Hungarian community. The most influential political Hungarian minority subjects became Land Christian-Socialist Party (LCHSP), [14] established on November 1919 in city of Košice. Ideologically LCHSP stayed on the platform of encyclicals declared by Vatican - *Rerum novarum* and *Quadragesimo anno*, which emphasized implementation of Christian solidarity into social and economic relations. As its name indicates, LCHSP aspired to cross ethnic lines and welcomed in its ranks also other ethnic groups including members of Slovak majority. This aim was partially successful and in year 1923 from total of 756 local organizations, 78 were composed of Slovak members. Slovak section of LCHSP also published Slovak mutation of *Népakarat* - a weekly *Vôľa ľudu*, in which popularized aims of party and evaluations of situation in Slovakia. An important source of information for party adherents was also *Mayar Hirlap* (*Hungarian Newspaper*) and daily *Prágai Magyar Hirlap* (*Prague Hungarian Newspaper*), which represented views concerning the whole Hungarian minority. Political program was based on protection of minority rights in political, economic, cultural and educational areas. In regard to cooperation with Czechoslovakian ruling political parties, LCHSP attitude was rather negative. However, there was a fraction inside party, led by chairman of the LCHSP, Jenő Lelley, which contemplated more positive approach toward cooperation with government so called activist policy. This strategy was only partially successful and J. Lelley was replaced by Gejza Szüllő, who represented party segment refusing cooperation with ruling political establishment.

Second most influential subject, representing Hungarian minority was Hungarian National Party (HNP). [15] It took several years to form HNP. Hungarian National Party was preceded a conglomerate of associations active predominantly in region of Rimavská Sobota, which coalesced into Land Hungarian

Party of Farmers, Small Farmers (Országos Magyar kisgazda, földműves és kisiparos part) and Small Traders.[16] The name Hungarian National Party was adopted in October 1925. Similarly as in case of LCHSP, HNP focused its activities on protection of Hungarian minority interests in economic and educational areas. In attitude to government, HNP was more inclined to cooperate with the governing political parties, than LCHSP. However, it refused centralistic model, which was leading principle of Czechoslovak political system, and argued for Swiss model of cantons. Recognizing, that this was in existing condition unrealistic, party leadership shifted to pursuance of an autonomous concept. The most influential party representatives were József Szent-Ivány, József Törköly, Jenő Fodor.

There were other more-or-less marginal political organizations,[17] representing certain segments of Hungarian community. These, however, had no consequential impact upon political life of Hungarians living in Slovakia.

Hungarian minority parties described above belonged to opposition, which in Slovak conditions was composed of Hlinkas Slovak Peoples Party (HSPP), Slovak National Party (SNP) and Communist Party. The status of opposition parties in Slovakia was conditioned by fact that they all, though for different reasons, strove for radical change of Czechoslovak state. Whereas autonomist parties - HSPP and SNP fought for considerable political independence of Slovakia in frame of CSR, communists refuted Republic as a whole and planned to replace existing political and economic regime by so called proletarian dictate. Hungarian parties also demanded changes, which would remake centralistic character of Republic and allow sizeable degree of autonomy in regions inhabited by Hungarian population. Consequently, the space for cooperation between Czechoslovakian (state-forming) political parties and opposition was limited. On the other side, any form of cooperation among opposition parties, considering radically different ideological and political objectives, was also impossible. Despite aim to weaken centralistic political arrangement, which could potentially unite Slovak autonomists and Hungarian parties, Slovak and Hungarian national ambitions effectively prevented any form of stabile alliance. In regard to Communist Party, HSPP, which was staunchly Christian Catholic, was a mortal enemy of „godless“ Communists. This resulted in impossibility of alteration of political power between opposition and ruling coalition, common in democratic systems, was practically impossible.

The status of Hungarian parties was affected by additional complicating aspect - existence of kin country - Hungarian Kingdom, which considered Peace Treaty of Trianon a national tragedy and openly proclaimed decision to use every possible tool to restore status quo ante. This revisionist resolve, which got name **irredenta**, became a source of constant tensions between Czechoslovakia and Hungary. There was no illusion among members Czech and Slovak majority, that Hungarians living in CSR, save a few exceptions, would prefer return to conditions existing before Trianon. The result was a constant surveillance of political and social activities of Hungarian minority members and adoption of measures aimed at curtailment of acts, classified by Czechoslovak security organs as breach of law. On the contrary, Hungarian politicians deemed these policies as a suppression of civic rights of Hungarians.

Sticking point was to decide objectively and impartially what consist of irredentist acts and what are legitimate expressions of political and cultural activities.

Czechoslovakian security authorities had a considerable leeway in implementation of restrictive measures and applied them sometimes too diligently. Hungarian political representative placed numerous complains with international organization, arguing that Czechoslovakia is an oppressive state in which rights of minorities are constantly violated. In reality, Czechoslovakia belonged to European countries, with extensive legislative focused upon protection of minorities. In comparison of situation in pre-war Hungary - as Czech and Slovak politicians frequently argued - situation of minorities was incomparably better.

Truth is, that despite occurrences of petty harassment, censure of press and shortcomings of contemporary political system, the Hungarian community as a whole, exhibited a vibrant political, cultural and social life.

During the first decade of Republic, the main means of political intercourse and insemination of ideological postulates were public gatherings, intensive and numerous especially before elections, and press. Radio broadcast was in its beginnings and accessible only to a few affluent. Because public gatherings were often more explosive clashes among stalwarts of individual parties, than reasonable political happenings, activities channeled through public meetings were monitored by security organs. Adherents of opposite political views attended gatherings with a goal to interrupt meetings. Frequently violence ensued and police interfered. In many instances acts of violence ended in courts.

Political gatherings were regulated in great detail - to obtain a permission to organize

a meeting, „at least four reliable citizens“ must submit a request to police. Authorities permitted it only in cases when „... nature of meeting was not threatening public security and property and public order ...“ [18] Police, in some cases Public Notaries, were obliged to dispatch to each public gathering an observer, who made a written record of speeches and prevented anti-government rhetoric or derogatory remarks on part of state representatives. Insults of President T.G. Masaryk were classified as criminal acts and prosecuted accordingly.

In similarly boisterous mode wrote politically oriented press. Every political party owned one or more newspapers promoting its views and criticize opponents. As was remarked, in absence of radio, television and internet, importance of newspapers was supreme. Government authorities duly recognized significance of press and strove to regulate content of articles. This held truth primarily for periodicals of opposition, which were critical of government policies. According Constitution, so called preliminary censure was prohibited. This resulted in „suppressive censure“, that is, practice, when authority empowered to carry on censure, demanded sample of periodical prepared for press and eliminated articles, considered unacceptable. Results were „white“ places, which punctuated pages of periodicals. In Slovakia censure was entrusted to Supreme State Procurator in Bratislava with branches in county administrative centers. In cases, when in judgment of procurator, content of given article justified a criminal prosecution, an indictment against a newspaper or a writer of the contested article was placed. In some cases courts could, for certain period of time, stop publishing of a periodical.

With the aim to monitor activities and persons considered potentially dangerous to security of state, Minister with full powers for the administration of Slovakia issued a decree

No. 9333 named *Organization of Intelligence Service for Slovakia*. [19] On the base of this decree a *Section of State Security of Administrative Department of Ministry of Interior* was established. The main task of this newly formed office was to prepare situation reports - analysis of political situation, evidence of persons regarded as potentially dangerous for state security, monitoring political parties, irredentist activities, anti-government propaganda, monitoring of news published in periodicals etc. We can gain understanding about nature of reports prepared by this office on the example of *Situational press report from Slovakia prepared for President of Republic*, elaborated on March 3 1923. In section *Hungarian periodicals*, are analysed individual newspapers according to their political orientation. For example *Sepesi Hirlap* is characterized as „inflammatory“, dailies *Magyar Ujság* a *Hiradó*, published in capital of Slovakia, Bratislava, as „liberal, but nationalistic“ and *Prágai Magyar Hirlap* as „madly inflammatory and explicitly irredentist“. On the contrary, *Magyar Hirlap*, based in a city of Košice as „utterly loyal to Republic.“

A peculiarly controversial issue was an import of periodicals and literature in general from Hungary. Import of periodicals, books or any printed items made in Hungary after 28 October 1918 was prohibited. The justification for adoption of this stringent measure was an argument, that a great deal of press product printed in Hungary is of irredentist nature and can undermine security of Czechoslovakia. This was unquestionably true, because patriotic organizations in Hungary devoted large amount of finances to creation of various propaganda materials, intended not only for use in Hungary, but also abroad. As reports of Czechoslovak security organs indicates, the idea of Great Hungary was propagated in many indigenous ways - maps, pictures, emblems, insignia, plackets, even prayer books were employed for this purpose.

A sticking point was propagation of Hungarian culture. Theatrical production was under surveillance of security organs. Plays celebrated heroic past of Hungarian Kingdom, were frequently prohibited, despite numerous protests. For example, Presidium of Land Office in Bratislava issued a circular named *Hungarian theatrical plays*, in which instructed subordinate organs to pay attention to Hungarian plays, because „Hungarian plays are not always unobjectionable and are fostering not only Hungarian culture, but frequently also Hungarian irredentism.“ [20] Land Office was also critical to execution of censorship, which is often shallow and this way „Hungarian circles have almost free hands“. [21]

A new medium for transmission of music, speeches and other form of sound recordings - a shellac phonograph record, became also target of censors. Distribution of records with Hungarian patriotic songs, which could be termed as inflammatory, was prohibited. On one occasion Land Office in Bratislava warned censors, that „many phonograph records, sold in small establishments, are containing Hungarian songs of irredentistic nature“, and demanded „an immediate commencement of precautionary measures and report of results.“ [22]

The second decade of twentieth century witnessed a gradual broadening of radio broadcast. As a tool of propaganda, it has one incomparable advantage - it could not be stopped, especially when radio transmission was broadcasted on short distance. This was the case of programs broadcasted from Hungary, received in Southern Slovakia, where a majority of ethnic Hungarians lived. Hungarian propaganda could be transmitted without hindrance. As radio broadcast became more common, Czechoslovak authorities strove to diminish flow of propaganda from Hungary - for example, on April 8 1926 Police Directory issued a circular, informing subordinate organs, that „Hungarian radio-headquarters in Budapest is spreading irredentistic proclamations, poetry etc. and this way is spreading irredentistic propaganda to neighboring states. To secure successful suppression of this propaganda, it is necessary to know a content of irredentistic broadcast and also to prosecute persons spreading this type of information on our territory.“^[23] Only effective way how Czechoslovakian authorities could, at least partially, regulate and reduce a flow of radio broadcast from abroad, was to control ownership of radio apparatuses. This was done by means of issuing of radio-licenses, entitling to ownership and use of radios. A state authority entitled to issue a radio - license was Ministry of Interior in cooperation with Ministry of Post Offices and Telegraphs. Naturally, a person requesting a license was scrutinized in regard to his (her) „reliability“. In circular, issued by Ministry of Post Offices and Telegraphs on October 14 1924, is stated, that radio-licenses will be issued only to persons „... who are suitable in all aspects and whose reliability is not in question...“^[24] With aim to stem a radio-broadcast from Hungary, attention was given also to radio-devices constructed without permit, which were deemed to be illegal. Minister with full powers issued on 14 of July instructions obliging security organs in Slovakia to search for illegal radio-receivers as reaction of reports about existence of secretly operated radio receivers.^[25] Prohibited were also displays of radios in public establishments, such as restaurants, pubs etc., tuned to programs from Hungary. As illustrate a circular of Land Office in Bratislava issued on August 6 1928, police organs were obliged to prevent such occurrences: „Land Office was informed, that some stores selling radio-apparatuses and electric items, are installing advertising speakers outside of store, or on other public places, and this way are spreading programs broadcasted by a radio station in Budapest, which is generally known by its irredentistic programs and by transmission of various irredentistic celebrations, and is generating in Slovakia and Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia anti-state propaganda. As a result of this, the duty of security organs is to prevent cases of public dissemination of unsuitable foreign radio programs, and to prosecute persons, who this type of activity consciously and intentionally executes. If such persons have a valid radio-license, start proceedings for its immediate revocation.“^[26]

An event, which had a negative impact upon status of minorities in Czechoslovakia, was adoption of Law No. 50 on March 19 1923, known as Law for protection of the Republic. The Law was vigorously fought by all opposition political parties, among them Hungarian minority parties - futilely. As future shown, the worries of opposition were not without foundation. In its 44 paragraphs the Law No. 50 covered a whole array of activities, which could be characterized as detrimental to security of state. As documents stored in archive deposits indicate, ^[27] the most utilized in prosecution proceedings against opposition activists were paragraphs No. 14 and No. 18. According to paragraph No. 14, any person criticizing political system of CSR and requesting change or reform of Constitution could be prosecuted. Similarly, spreading „false news, which could entice and alarm population“ can be classified as a criminal offense. Oppressive nature of the Law No. 50 was enhanced by vague definition of criminal offenses, which gave to security authorities a broad leeway in evaluation what constitute a possible criminal act. On the other hand, the prosecution of political activities, termed as criminal, was carried by independent courts and sentences were mostly mild, sometimes symbolic. A great majority of jail sentences ranged from days to several months. Frequently offenders were punished by fines. Only in one case - a célèbre prosecution of Bela Tuka, one of the leading opposition politicians - the sentence had a Stalinist tinge - fifteen years of imprisonment under pretence of espionage.

On the whole, the curtailment the activities of political opposition, including of Hungarian parties, did not prevented a political, social, economic and cultural development of this most numerous ethnic community in Slovakia. In a democratic state this was impossible to stop. Unquestionably, there were a number of grievances, which could be, and were, justly argued by political representatives of Hungarian minority. Even and English scholar and writer, a staunch supporter of Czechoslovakian Republic on international scene, criticized certain non-democratic aspects of state policies, among other stern practices in execution of censure. In year 1931 he wrote: „It is a time to relax a censure of newspapers, which in Czechland and Morava is practically non-existent, but in Slovakia is still considerably sharp.“^[28]

However, it can be said, that during the first decade of twentieth century status of Hungarian minority in Slovakia was gradually improving. This was result of internal as well as external factors. In frame of Czechoslovakian political system, democratic practices took hold and deepened. Dialogue between

opposition representatives and politicians of ruling parties, though frequently thorny, was becoming more constructive. In comparison to later years of communist regime, leaders of Hungarian minority parties could voice their grievances freely in Czechoslovakian parliament, articulate their views on public gatherings, participate on elections and were not prevented to be politically active abroad. Gejza Szüllő, a chairman of Land Christian-Socialist Party, was elected to post a vice-chairman of First Congress of European Ethnic Minorities in Geneva on October 1925. In some cases, Hungarian political parties even supported policies of ruling parties.[29]

There were promising sights of improvement in the sphere of external relations. After years of tensions immediately after Great War, international situation, in regard to security of Czechoslovakia, was improving. CSR had a firm backing of France, who guaranteed western border of Republic and this way practically eliminated a possible threat from Germany. Similarly, from aspect of military threat, secure was situation in regard to Hungary. So called Little Entente, an alliance of Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, Romania and Czechoslovakia, effectively prevented any possibility of military incursion by Hungary. Hungarian political elites, regardless of their political orientation, were powerless to change post-war geopolitical arrangements and were aware of it. Despite their refusal to accept Trianon Peace Treaty, they must get used to peaceful coexistence with CSR. The bilateral Czechoslovak - Hungarian relations, though difficult and punctuated by outbursts of nationalistic excesses, such as Rothermere affair, were slowly approaching to normalcy. In year 1932 Ministry of Interior revoked prohibition of import of printed products from Hungary, with exception of periodicals.[30] Summarizing internal and external developments during the first ten years of Czechoslovakian Republic, it is possible to argue, that inter ethnic relations in Slovakia were gradually getting better. There is difficult to estimate, what course would relations between Slovaks and Hungarian minority members take, in case, that positive economic and political developments in Europe would prevail. However, this contemplation is only hypothetic. An economic disruption, which gained a fitting name Great Depression, had a fatal consequence on developments in Europe and beyond her borders. In the midst of economic misery, growing unemployment and steep loss of standards of living, political stability eroded. Democracy, as a political system, lost its luster and tolerance for authoritarian regimes grew. As not so distant future shown, tragic course took development in Germany. Victory of Nazis in Germany, led by Adolf Hitler resulted in rise of tensions, which characterized situation in Europe during the third decade of twentieth century. It had a negative impact also upon inter ethnic relations in Slovakia. However, to dwell into this period of Slovak history, is beyond of scope of this paper.

Maďarská komunita v prvom desaťročí Československej republiky

Vznik Československej republiky ako jedného z nástupníckych štátov, etablovaných na troskách Rakúsko-Uhorska mal výrazný dopad na politickú, ekonomickú a spoločenskú situáciu obyvateľstva Slovenska. Popri Čechoch a Slovákoch sa ČSR stala tiež domovom viacerých etnických komunít. Na Slovensku sa určujúcou minoritou z hľadiska etnickej štruktúry stala maďarská menšina. Príspevok sa v zhustenej forme zaoberá postavením maďarského obyvateľstva na Slovensku po vzniku ČSR, charakterom politickej realizácie maďarskej komunity a reakciami štátnych orgánov na jej aktivity.

[1] So called magyarization was a complex process aimed at „adoption“ a new ethnic, cultural and ideological identity, which should transform various ethnic communities living in Hungary into homogenous Magyar Nation.

[2] A Hungarian journalist G. Beksics formulated basic motivation behind decision to create an ethnically homogenous Hungarian state: „ either Hungary will became a great national state, or as a state will not last.“ LETZ, Róbert. *Náčrt dejín Uhorska a Maďarska s osobitným zreteľom na maďarsko-slovenské vzťahy*. Bratislava : SAV, 1995, p. 72.

[3] ŠUTAJ, Štefan. Etnicita - napätia a konflikty v slovenskej spoločnosti. In: Šutaj Štefan (ed.). *Národ a národnosti na Slovensku*. Prešov : Universum, 2005, p. 7.

[4] *Report of State Statistical Office of Czechoslovakian Republic, 1933, Year XIV., Number 195. Schedule 1.*

[5] For detailed report describing conditions in post-war Slovakia, see MEDVECKÝ, A. Karol. *Slovenský prevrat I-IV*. Bratislava : Komenský, 1930.

[6] BARNOVSKÝ, Michal et al. *Dokumenty slovenskej národnej identity a štátnosti II*. Bratislava : Národné literárne centrum - Dom slovenskej literatúry, 1998, p. 71-72.

[7] *Národné noviny*, 31.10.1918, Deklarácia slovenského národa.

[8] HRONSKÝ, Marián. *The Struggle for Slovakia and the Treaty of Trianon*. Bratislava : VEDA, 2001, p. 143.

[9] *Úradné noviny*. Bratislava, 25.3.1919.

[10] For detailed description of military campaign of Hungarian Red Army see HRONSKÝ, M. *The Struggle for Slovakia...*, pp. 155-200.

[11] *Úradné noviny*. Bratislava, 21.5.1919.

[12] *Slovenský denník*, 21.6.1919, Nariadenie o vlastizradcoch.

[13] 121/1929 Sb. Zákon ze dne 29. února 1920, kterým se uvozuje Ústavní listina Československé republiky.

[14] Országos Keresztényszocialista Párt.

[15] Magyar Nemzeti Párt.

[16] In paper geographic localities are named in Slovak language.

[17] Magyar és Német Szocialdemokrata Párt; Magyar Polgári Párt; Magyar Jogpárt; Országos Paraszt Párt; Magyar Nemzeti Munkáspárt; Országos Kisgazda-Iparos- és Munkáspárt.

[18] Slovak National Archive (SNA), Fund (f.) Police Directorate (PD), Box (b.) 3. Title of the document: *Regulations of public gatherings*.

[19] State Archive (SA) Žiar nad Hronom, f. County Office (CO) in Nová Baňa 1923 - 1945, b. 1, no. 85/1423.

[20] SA Spišská Nová Ves, CO Gelnica 1923 - 1945, b. 28.

[21] SA Spišská Nová Ves, CO Gelnica 1923 - 1945, b. 28.

[22] SNA Bratislava, f. PD, b. 350, no. 350/14.

[23] SNA Bratislava, f. PD, b. 582. Title of the document: *Hungarian irredenta in radio*.

[24] SNA Bratislava, f. PR, b. 583. Title of the document: *Radio-licenses*.

[25] SA Košice, f. Košice District (KE D), b. 17, No. 491.

[26] SNA Bratislava, f. PR, b. 582. Title of the document: *Hungarian radio propaganda*.

[27] Primarily Police Directories and Procuratures.

[28] SETON-WATSON, R. W. et al. *Slovensko kedysi a teraz*. Praha : Orbis, 1931, p. 57.

[29] For example Hungarian National Party supported implementation of agrarian custom duties, which was a main objective of most influential Czechoslovak Agrarian Party.

[30] SNA f. PD, b. 330. No. 330/432. Ministry of Interior issued on April 1932 a decree, allowing „import and distribution of non-flawed Hungarian published products with exception of periodicals.“